The Defence Of IOB Throkmorton,

against the slaunders of Maister Sutcliffe, taken out of a Copye of his owne hande as it was written to an honorable Personage.

Prouerbes

20.6. *The taulke of th'vngodly is how they may lay waite for bloud: But the mouth of the righteous will deliuer them.*

29.20. *Seest thou a man that is hastie to speake vnadvisedly? There is more hope of a foole then of him.*

30.14. *There is a generation whose teeth are as swords, & their iawes as knives to deuoure the poore and afflicted from th'earth.*

1594.

THE DEFENCE OF

I. C. B. THROKMORTON,

against the Slaunders of Maister Sue-
cliffe, taken out of a Copye of his owne
handes as it was written to an
honorable Perso-
nage.

Proverbes

Pro. 6. The tongue of the righteous is how they may lay
waite for blood: But the mouth of the
wicked shall deliver them.

Pro. 29. Seest thou a man that is hastie to speake rash-
ardlie? There is more hope of a foole
then of him.

Pro. 14. There is a generation which seeth are vn-
pure, & their names as knives to devoure
the poore and afflicted from the earth.

1594.

¶ The defence of Iob Throkmorton, against the slaunders of Maister Sutcliffe.

GOod Madame, I thinke my selfe much bounde vnto your La: that you would vouchsafe to make some pause, and to suspende your iudgement before you passe daunie absolute verdicte against me. Iois much I confesse in this swift censuring and preiudiciall age of ours, wherein mens willes & affections stande for statutes. Seeing then you are so desirous to know the trueth, I will not (I assure you) hyde any thing from you that I can call to minde. And howe so euer for want of memorie (things being passed so long agoe) I may happelie faile in some wordes, time, or circumstance that are not materiall. I dare auowe vnto your La: that for the substance of the thing it self there is no vntrueth in it at all. Bee it then that which I will iustifie vppon mine othe, if I should be thervnto called before the Parleament, or before the Lordes, which for my better clearing herein (being by this false and slaunderous accusation so much interested as I am) is the thing I doe desire: protestinge vnto you, that I was so farre from beeing acquainted with anie of the lewde practises of *Nacher* and his accomplices, (as Maister *Sutcliffe* and the *Pretended Conspiracie* would seeme to insinuate) that I doe not remember that euer I did so much as see the man aboue once in my life.

As for *Copinger* (though I confesse, I had heard of him before by my cousine *Middlemore*, that dead is, who had in part discried vnto me the humour of the man, and the sick-

selfe of his braine) yet the first time that euer I sawe him, or had anie acquaintance with him, was on a Sabbath in Hillarie terme, before his fall 1590. At which time meeting him at the Blacke friers in the after noone, when the Lecture was done, he called me aside, telling me that hee would gladly speak with me, that his name was *Copinger*. I asked him what kinne he was to Maister *Ambrose Copinger* that serued sometime the *Duke of Norfolke*, he said, his owne brother, I tolde him I loued him the better for that. And so he would needes drawe me on with him to his lodging.

By the way, as we went, he asked me sundrie questions concerning my trouble, & the matter of my endightment, and howe I speddeth: I tolde him, I hoped well, the rather because mine owne heart was a witnesse to me of mine innocencie. And then he fell from that to other matters, wherein he made me remember my cousine *Middlemore* his wordes: for me thought he began to talke somethinge wildly and strangely of the ouerthrow of the BB. and th'expelling of dumme ministers all at one clappe, with sundrie other reeling vagaries without sence, whereof I can not nowe call to minde one iote particular. But this among the rest I wel remember, that he tolde me he was in good hope, ere it were long, to bring my L. Treasurer about to lyke of his deuise, vnto which effect he said, he had written to his Honor of late, and looked for answere shortlie, vnto all which (musinge with my selfe that he would thus boldlie runne vpon these matters, especiallie to a man that hee neuer sawe before) I spake little, O me lie I wished that in so great and waightie affaires as those, he would be sure of his grounde and warrant before he attempted anie thing, and doo nothing of his owne head without th'aduise of those that were wise and feared God. *I warrant you* (sayeth he) *I will be sure of my grounde: I will looke to that.*

When he came to his lodging, he tolde me it was a day

of priuate fast with him, and thereuppon was verie importunate with me to haue prayed: which when I refused, because (as I tolde him) I would bee loth to take anie such thing in hande vpon a suddaine without premeditation, he casting me a cusshen to kneele on, fell him selfe to pray after his manner: a thing wherein my Cousine *Middlemore* had tolde me before he tooke a singular delight, hauinge some conceite and opinion of his gifte that way.

Loth I am (my good Lady) to be an ouerswift and hastie censurer of anie mans praier, especiallie in this cold and prophane age of ours, wherein men let not blasphemouslie to scorne and deride, as it were, the verie gifites and graces of Gods spirit. But, if I shall tell you simplie and plainlie what I thinke, this prayer of Maister *Copingers* (though it were full of outwarde zeale and feruentnesse, if not too feruent, because he vsed many of these ohes, loude sighes and groninges, when as I conceiued the matter in weight, did nothing answere those patheticall outeries) was not, me thought, squared after the rule of knowledge, neither in methode, matter nor manner, nor yet fauouring of that humilitie and discretion, as were to bee wished in so zealous a professour as he made shewe of. It was very long and tedious, pestered with many impertinent discourses and needlesse repetitions of one and the same thing, stuffed and enterlarded with sundrie bitter imprecations, about which he and I had no small adoe, and some hote bickering within a while after. But the issue was, that hauinge caught some colde, and beeing nothing well before, this long kneeling and late tarying in that snowie and frostie season, did not helpe anie with to diminishe, but rather to increase my griefe, and brought me to a fitte of an ague.

Not long after this, when I had something recouered my selfe, I went to visite Maister *Carr.* in the Fleete, vnto whom I signified what had passed betwixt Maister *Copin-*

ger and me, and of the newe acquaintance that he would needes faſten and enforce vpon me. But he bade me in anie wiſe beware and take heed of him, for he feared him greatlie that certeinlie all was not well with him, and that he had (a) *leſum principium*, at the leaſt, telling me howe faine he would haue propounded & faſtened ſome of his fooleries and phantaſticall reuelations vpon him. *But* (ſayeth he) *I haue returned him ſuch an anſwere, as I beleeue hee will not greatlie like of, neither ſeeke to me in haſte againe for reſolution.*

(a) That is, ſome crazing of the braine.

After this hauing beene in the countrie, when I came vp againe to London, Maiſter *Copinger* meeting me in the ſtreetes, tolde me that he had bene ſundrie times at my lodging to ſeeke me, but nowe I was come, he would viſite me one of theſe dayes, and thereupon would needes knowe of me when he ſhould be ſure to haue me within. I tolde him I had much buſines, and therefore could not well ſet him downe anie certeine time, but ſeeing I was a Legier heere, there would be time enough to meete before the Terme were done. But he not ſatisfied heerewith, did not giue ouer, in a maner day by day, yea and ſometimes, as I vnderſtoode, three or foure times a day, to ſeeke me at my lodging. Nowe perceyuing belike that I did as much as in me lay, of purpoſe to ſhunne and auoid him (as in deede vpon the warning of Maiſter *Carr*. and the former ſpeeces of my Couſine *Middlemore* I did) he came one morning betime to my lodging before I was out of my bedde, and there he tolde me he had diuers things to ſhewe me of importance, *You ſhall ſee* (ſayeth he) *that I haue not dallied or ſlept this geare, for I haue dealt, I tell you, with the higheſt.* And thereuppon hee pulles me out of his boſome a bundle of papers, whiche were, the moſt of them, the copies of ſuch letters, as he had leyther alreadie written, or els had a purpoſe to write to ſeueral perſons for the furtherance of the cauſe, as he learned it. Among the which I remember there was one to my L.

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Treasurer, one to the Countesse of Warwicke, and within that, one to her maiestie. Th'effect of all which, to my remembrance, was of certaine horrible practises, treasons, & conspiracies intended against the Queene. And all these were onely indefinitlie set downe in a kinde of generalitie, without naminge or pointinge at anie particular, eyther of time, place, person or circumstance. More hee had recorded among those papers of his, th'aunswere that he tolde me he had receiued by woord of mouth, both from my Lo Treasurer and the Countesse to this effecte, as I remember, *Let not Copinger builde vs castels in th'ayre, or feede vs with phansies, fables, or dreames, but let him bring vs some grounded matter whereupon we may worke, and he shall well perceyue, he shall be backed against the greatest subiect in the lande, &c.* Withall I remember he tolde me that that Letter to her Maiestie the Countesse kept still in her handes, and would in no wise deliuer it, till shee sawe some better matter to ground vpon. Sundrie other copies of letters he shewed me at that time, as namelie one as I thinke to his sister *Randoll*, one to Maist. *Egerton*, one to Maister *Carr*. one to Maister *Fuller*, another to Maister *Lancaster*, two to Maist. *Vdall*, with some others that I can not nowe call to minde. Neither, to speake the trueth, did I giue any great care vnto them, hauing at that instant some speciall busines, and therefore could the more willinglie haue spared his cõpanie. Yet this I noted among the rest, that there were fewe of those letters of his without some piece of imprecation or other, which sounded strange in mine eares.

Nowe after he had thus shuffled ouer his letters and papers vnto me, he fell to discourse with me at large of certeine straunge revelations and apparitions that he had had of late, as namely, Once in his bedde when his brother Maister *Ambrose Copinger*, and another Gentleman lay by him, He tolde me him selfe, that they that lay by him beeing

ing awaked with the loude noise and groaning that hee made, as men something amazed at the strangenesse thereof, did call on him aloude, verely thinking him not to bee well in his wittes, *Whereas in trueth* (sayeth he) *I was inwardlie rauished in spirit, did groane in soule, and was talking with my God, who did most comfortably and gloriouslie appeare vnto me: yet they would by no meanes beleeue it, but thought verely I had bene beside my selfe, &c.* And then he fell to vse many protestations, yea and imprecations vnto me, to perswade me of the trueth hereof: namely, that he for his part was as sure that the Lorde had reuealed sundrie thinges vnto him, poore worme of th'earth (for those were his words) as he was sure of his death. And euen here it was that I tooke occasion to deale with him so roundlie about those kinde of cursinges and imprecations that were so vsuall with him, aswell in his prayer, letters and speaches, as, *The Lorde confounde me, Let vengeaunce consume me, Let th'earth open and swallowe me, &c.* Whereof I was so farre (I tolde him) from seeing any warrant or exãple in the worde, that on the contrarie I thought they could not be vsed without a grieuous sinne and offence vnto the Maiestie of God. Concerning all which his defence, me thought, was most silie and pitifull, hauing nothing in the worlde to salue it with but onely *Extraordinarie, Extraordinarie.*

Wherevpon he fell in some earnest manner to question and expostulate with me, what I thought, whether all extraordinarie callings were nowe ceased, & whether it were not possible that a man should haue anie particular reuelations in this age, aswell as in former times, greatly complayning that Maister *Cart.* and Maister *Egerton*, with all the godlie preachers about the Citie, aswell those in prison, as at libertie, should be of that iudgement, *That we were not to rest vpon anie of those extraordinarie reuelations in this age, but rather to accompt of them as deceitfull suggestions of Sathan, &c.*

To which effecte I remember, as his custome was to haue his bosome full of papers, copies of letters, and such like, (because he saied he loued to keepe his reckonings about him, that he might walke surelie) he drewe out certeyne notes, either of his owne hande, or of some of theirs, wherby was manifestlie refuted that fond opinion of his concerning reuelations: all which, as he shewed me one by one, so he forgate not to tell me still by the way, howe weake their reasons were, to this end (as it should seeme) that he might thereby, with more ease, fasten this conceite vppon me, and drawe me, if he could, to be of his minde.

Wherein, Madame, as in manie other things, albeit there bee good cause why I should be reasonably acquainted with mine owne weakenesse, yet finding my selfe (vpon the conference I had with Maister *Cart.* and others) sufficientlie armed, as I thought, to withstande a greater assault then this, I dealt plainlie and roundly with Maister *Copinger*, and did assure him for a full and flatte resolution, that for mine owne part I was altogither of the iudgement of those godlie Ministers he spake of, not that I did therein or in anie thing els, relye my selfe wholy vpon men, were they neuer so reuerend, but that I sawe no warrāt for those his dreames and imaginations out of the worde. And nowe that the Lord had thus at large reuealed his will vnto vs, euen sufficient to make the man of God perfect, if mine owne Father were aliue and should tell me of anie other reuelations then that, I durst not hearken or giue eare vnto him, being a thing verie daungerous and deceitfull for anie man to ground vppon. And therefore if I were as you, Maister *Copinger* (for those, I assure you, were my wordes vnto him) *I would rather suspecte this that you speake of to be some meere illusion of the Deuill, then any sounde reuelation from God, &c.* Well, saith he, Maister Throk. (striking his hande vpon the deske that was by me) what so euer you and others doe thinke of the

strangeneſſe and impoſſibilitie hereof, I am out of doubt of the truth of it, being more then once, or twice, and that after many conflictes, agonies and trialls, aſſured thereof, euen by the holy ghoſt him ſelfe from heauen: and that the Lorde him ſelfe hath appointed me, for ſome ſpeciall work of his to his glorie: In which ſpeeches of his me thought I ſawe ſome wilde and ſtrange caſt of his countenance.

Nowe when he ſawe that after all theſe his perſwaſions, proteſtations, and fearfull imprecations, he could by no meanes faſten vpon me any liking of theſe his extraordinarie reuelations (though he often alleadged Maiſter *Knox*, and ſome others vnto me) he grew in th'end to this, that there was a worke to be done, for the Church, which the Lord would not haue wrought by ſuch men of great giftes as Maiſter *Egerton*, Maiſter *Cart* and my ſelfe were (for ſo it pleaſed him to couple vs togither.) But this muſt be effected, forſooth, by men of baſe accompte, of no giftes, & ſuch as are (as it were) the verie abiectes of th'earth: For euer, ſaieth he, the Lorde woorketh the greateſt woorkes by the weakeſt inſtruments. And herevpon it was that he began to commende and extoll this Hacket vnto me, as a very rare & notable man, and yet ſuch a one as could not reade a letter on the booke: One that in deede had bene (as he ſaied) a vile and prophane wretch in his dayes, but was wonderfullie altered and come home. A man that would not ſticke in all humilitie to acknowledge the ſinne of his former life with deteſtation, and was nowe become a conuert, forſooth, and a diligent hearer of the woord. To this effect (I aſſure you) and with manie moe wordes then I can well vtter, did he blaze out the praiſes of this newe prophet of his. And then, ſeeing ſome others come vp to me about buſines, he ſnatched vp his papers, and thruſting them into his boſome, he tooke his leaue for that time.

But you muſt vnderſtande, Madame, that before this con-

conference of ours, he wrote vnto me, and finding belike that my answere was not to his satisfaction, he founde this meanes to steale vpon me, as I haue described. His letter was to the very same effecte as his speeches were, to witte: *That he hoped to liue to doo some seruice in the Church of God. That what so euer perswasions men vsed vnto him to desist and breake off his course, yet he had no cause to be discouraged, because he had his warrant from heaven: Further, that with the Lorde the greatest workes were euer brought to passe by the weakest instrumentes, &c.* Implying & enforcing still that this *Harket*, forsooth (whom all this while I neuer sawe nor heard of, but by *Copingers* report) must be the man that must doe the feate, because hee was a weake one and vnlearned.

Vnto this letter of his (purposelie to aduise him to beware what he did, and to looke before he leapt) I wrote him that answere which they haue nowe in their handes, and which Maister *Copinger* kept in his bosome among other papers, euen the same that desperate Maister *Sutcliffe*, and the *Pretended conspiracie*, haue thus printed and published by patches and pieces, with so manie &c. I muse they would not publishe it altogither, as it was, vnmangled. It had sure bene a great deale fairer play, especiallie in a cause that concernes (as is pretended) a mans life, credite and good name. I thanke God, Madame, if they doe not adde or enlarge, or if they doe not curtaile it, clippe it, enterline it, and transforme it, I doe not feare the view of that letter to be presented at anie time, before the Lordes, and my selfe to be censured and punished, as they in their wisedomes shall thinke my ouersight that way to deserue. For vnlesse I greatlie deceyue my selfe, the very shreades of that letter, which they haue thus dismembred, renting one clause from another, yea, and, by their leaue, altering and ouerstrayninge some wordes too, doe notwithstading (if they be rightly weighed) sufficiēlie cleare me in th'eies of all vnpartiall and in-

different minded men. And yet it may be they knowe that the whole letter would haue cleared the ſuſpicion much more. Therefore vtterly to ſuppreſſe that whiche would cleare a Puritane moſt was for them the wiſeſt though peraduenture not the conſcionableſt courſe.

It may be (and it is like enough if they haue all his papers) that they haue alſo another ſhort letter of mine in aunſwere to another of Maiſter *Copingers*, who writing vnto me thus: *Deare brother, I hope, ere it be long, you ſhall ſee an alteration:* I anſwered him euen vnder the ſame letter, both in one paper thus: *Such an alteration as would breede a reformation and not a confuſion, I would be hartilie glad of, and I doe daily pray for.* Seeing they are ſo ful of their printing, I would wiſhe they had bene ſo kind-harted to haue printed this too.

Nowe that your Honor may the better iudge, whether I be herein injured or no, or whether it be vpon the ſpleene (as it were) without cauſe, that I doe thus complaine, It may pleaſe you a little to conſider with me of theſe fewe particulars enſuing.

Firſt, whereas Maiſter *Copinger* in his letter ſeemed to be ſorie that I ſhould be one of thoſe that did condemne his courſe, and I aſſured him that as I was not ouer haſtie to condemne him in a matter that I knew not of, nor had anie acquaintance with, but only hearde of at the ſecond hand, as it were, by certeine buzzes & flying reportes abroad, &c. All that former part of my letter, & thoſe wordes that make ſo manifeſtly and apparauntlie for my clearing, and wherein I doe vtterlie diſavowe all knowledge and acquaintance with theſe courſes of his (becauſe they would ſo faine haue me ſeeme guiltie) is quite left out & ſuppreſſed: not a word of that I warrant you.

Then whereas the whole drift and ſcope of my letter is a meere diſſwaſion of Maiſter *Copinger* to goe on with anie ſole or ſingular courſe of his owne head, and that hee take

both his eyes in his handes, and be ſure of his grounde before he ſtriue to put any thing in execution: they haue laboured to invert all, ſtrayning and ſtretchinge both my words and meaning quite againſt the haire, as may appeare by their marginall note *ſtriue to put in execution?* whereby they would make the world beleeue (if they could) that *Throk.* was no diſſwader, but rather an encourager and egger on of *Copinger*, to put in execution that which before he had conceiued in his braine.

And nowe to mende the matter, in the necke of this comes Maiſter *Sutcliffe* with his vie, offring me full as hard meaſure as all this comes too, and thereof I make your La. the iudge. For whereas in the feeling and experience of mine owne weakneſſe and wantes, I dare not boaſt nor take vppon me the name of a ſanctified heart, he verie kindly, I thanke him, ſettes his brand vpon me in the margine in this manner: *A ſanctified Puritane.* The thing that I doe apparantlie diſavowe and renounce as not daring to boaſt of, it pleaſeth him, in his girding manner, to vpbraied me with, as if I did arrogantlie aſſume it vnto my ſelfe: ſo that you ſee I can eſcape him no way. Nay it ſeemeth he is ſo eger and ſharpe ſett to ſnappe and bite at me, that he will not giue me leaue to ſpeak ſometimes the very language of *Chanaan*: no not as the holy Ghoſt him ſelfe ſpeaketh in the Scripture, but I ſhall beare a blowe for it. Him ſelfe knoweth (I doubt not) better then I, that it is th'vſuall phraſe with the Hebrewes to ſay, *The firſt Moneth: The fifte Moneth. The ſeaueuth Moneth: The nienth Moneth.* And albeit I holde it not vnlawfull to name and write the Monethes as we vſuallie doe, as *March, Aprill, May, &c.* So yet for a man once or twice in his life to vſe the phraſe of the holy Scripture, and ſay, *The fift Moneth*, ſhould not, me thinkes, in equitie (if it be rightly weighed) deſerue ſo great a reproch. And I muſe if Maiſter *Sutcliffe* ſhould comment vpon the tenth chapter

24055

of *Ezra*, where it is said, *That the people sate downe and trembled before the Lorde the twentieth day of the nienth moneth.* And againe, *Th'auncient heades sate downe to examine the matter, the first day of the tenth Moneth.* I muse, I saye, if he should comment vpon this, whether he would therevpon make such a marginall glosse, as he hath done vpon my poore letter, *This is the newe absurde Consistorian stile.*

Wherein yet your La. may see howe easelie a wise man may ouerslip him selfe in his distemperature. For if it be true that this manner of writinge, *The fourth Moneth, The fifth Moneth, The eight Moneth, &c.* (which is so ill taken and so scornefullie disgeasted by Maister *Sutcliffe*) bee not onely the phrase of poore Maister *Caluin*, or *Beza*, or barelie a *Geneuian* deuise (for then, I feare me, he would goe nighe to treade it vnder his feete, and rent the record with his teeth,) but also th'usuall phrase of the Bishops them selues, in the translation of their great Bibles, commaunded and enioyned to be reade in Churches. If this, I say, may be prooued (as it is manifest and apparaunt to all that will not wilfullie muffle them selues) then must it needs be that he hath herein, in a sorte, done him selfe a piece of iniurie, and that in leueling thus greedilie at me, he hath vnaduisedly rushed vpon some of his deerest friendes, whom I am sure he would be loth to offende. If he say that they doe but translate so, and I doe write so: It will be but a silie & slender voydance of the matter. For, I hope, he will not say that his Graue fathers doe either in their writing or in their trrnslation vse anie, *Newe, absurde, Puritane or Consistorian stile*, which, hee knowes, they might easelie avoied, if there were anie such absurditie in the matter as hee would beare vs in hande, and translate for *The first Moneth, March.* For the seconde *Aprill*, and so of the rest, if it pleased them. Therefore if Maister *Sutcliffe* should say neuer so constantly, nay if hee should sweare vnto me, that this maner of writing were *absurd* and

Conſiſtorianlike, he muſt pardon me, I could not beleeue it, my reaſon is, becauſe the Biſhops them ſelues doe vſe it. And where doe they vſe it? Euen there, where I preſume they would be moſt afraied to vſe anie ſtraunge, abſurd, or vnwarrantable ſpeach, to wit, in the holy ſcriptures of God, which they know are to bee handled with all pietie and reuerence, as may moſt tende to th'edification of the people of God. If then it be in no ſorte abſurde in them, no more, ſay I, can it be in me, ſeeing the very ſame phraſe that I haue vſed but once onely in my Letter, they haue vſed in their tranſlation aboue twentie times, and yet it were heard, he knowes, to coumpt them eyther Preciſians or Diſciplinarians for all that.

By this, Madame, and the reſt, your La. may eaſilie ſee, that I am both vncharitablie and vnchriſtianlie dealt with. And yet to ſpeak indifferentlie, I ought not in ſome regard to thinke much of it, or take it to harte, when ſo reuerend a man as Maiſter *Egerton* is, (for whoſe holy prayers I doe not doubt but her Maieſtie and the whole State doeth proſper the better) can by no meanes eſcape the ſtinge of their envenomed mouthes.

It may be your La. hath heard howe learnedly & roundlie Maiſter *Sutcliffe* did confute him of late in Pawles, euen ſince the publiſhing of his laſt declamation, and that to his face before D. *White*, and others. I was not by my ſelfe, but if it be as I haue heard, the ſpeeches were ſo opprobrious, as I am halfe aſhamed to ſet downe with my penne, remembring the perſon againſt whom they were vttered. They were neither Greeke nor Hebrewe, nor yet ſcarce any congruitie of good manner, but (ſauing your reuerence, Madame) plaine *Scabbe*, and *ſcurvey Iacke*. In which veine of kitchen rhetorike, if they would giue me leaue alſo to followe the ſway of fleſhe and bloud, me thinkes I could eaſilie without anie great ſweate or paines (if there were no

boundes

boundes of modeſtie to reſtraine me) learne to confute the honeſteſt man, and the greateſt Clarke in Chriſtendome.

But this is not all: For both he and the Conſpiracie doe dreſſe him another way, though in words nothing ſo groſſlie, yet in weight and conſequent full as bytingly as this, & that by a certeine pretie conveiance or ſleight of a finger called *Inverſio*. For whereas Maiſter *Egertons* perſwaſion to Maiſter *Copinger* was (as I haue heard) to this effecte and in this forme, to wit, *That albeit he would bee loth to quenche the Spirit, or kill any zeale in him; eſpecially in this colde and froſen age of ours, wherein for the moſt parte men had ſo litle hunger and thirſt after the worde: yet he was certeinly perſwaded that thoſe ſuppoſed reuelations of his were nothing els but meere illuſions of Satan, whoſe ſubtiltie he ſhould in anie wiſe beware of, leaſt he were ſeduced and miſleade by him, &c.* Whereas, I ſay, his ſpeeces were thus framed, howe doeth Maiſter *Sutcliffe* and *The pretended Conſpiracie* handle the matter? Why, euen thus Madame, and I pray you marke it for your learninge, becauſe it may ſerue your La. for a handſome paterne to meaſure all the reſt by. They play *Hyſteron proteron* with him, that is, they turne the catte into the panne, ſetting the cart before the horſe, bringing in that firſt which ſhould be laſt, and that laſt whiche ſhould be firſt, to wit, *That he ſhould wiſely and circumſpectlie take heed he were not miſlead by the ſubtilty of Sathan, &c. But withall (ſay they) the ſaied Maiſter Egerton concluded, that he would be loth to quenche the ſpirit of God in him, or hinder his zeale.* And why trowe you was this brought in laſt for a concluſion, which was in deede as the preamble and firſt entrance into his ſpeach? Becauſe otherwiſe, it may be, it would not haue wounded this *Renowmed Paraphraſt* deepe inough, nor haue ſtucke by his ribbes ſo long. But nowe martialled, as it is, in the rereward and ſo caſt in the eie, It is like enough to leaue the deeper impreſſion and remembraunce in mens breaſts, that certeinlie, this *Egerton* (though he vſed a little faire floriſhe

rishe in the beginning) was yet verie vnwilling that *Copinger* should desist and giue ouer his course, and therefore it was that he would quenche no zeale in him. And howe thinke you, Madame, was not this nimbly and charitably contriued against so reuerend a Minister of the word.

But yet me thinke that which doeth exceede all the rest in weight of malice, and doeth most lay open the very sting and venime of the heart is this, that Maister *Sutcliffe* will needes make him a misliker, and, as it were, an envier of her Maiesties Honorable, Princelike, and Roiall apparance in the beginning of the Parliament: A thing that I dare sweare is farre from his heart, and therefore what so euer it shall please Maister *Sutcliffe* to saye in this regarde, (yea though he should heerein write against him till his eyes were dimme) yet I am perswaded he shall neuer while hee liues, gette anie man of conscience and iudgement, that knowes the man, to beleeue it: Nay, I durst, me thinkes, pawne my life vpon it (and so I doubt not would many of my betters) that there is no man liuinge vnder the sunne, that doeth more from his heart desire the true blessednesse of her Maiestie, namelie, that shee might bee beloued of God, and highlie honored in th'eies of men, then doeth Maister *Egerton*, as may sufficientlie appeare, both by his daily teaching and prayers, whereof there are witnesses enough, though I should be silent. Notwithstandinge all which Maister *Sutcliffe* (as a man that cares not what he say, so he may be byting) will proue it otherwise, you shall see, and that forsooth out of his owne Letter to his brother *Fenne, pag. 199.* For doeth he not saye there, That *shee went thither meta polles phantasias*, that is, (as he interpretes it) *with great ostentation and pompe. Which wordes* (sayeth he) *Sainct Paul vseth condemning the vanitie of* Agrippa *and* Beronice. Wherein, Madame, eyther through his hast, or through the heate and varulinesse of his passions (for I will neuer at-

tribute it to his want of iudgement) he hath made vs at the leaſt two or three foule vnavoydable ſlippes. For firſte, whereas hee will needes haue the woordes to bee Saint *Paules*, he muſt giue vs leaue for once (becauſe he is a trauelér) to aunſwere him with the *ſauf voſtre grace Monſieur*, Saint Paule, we dare warrant, hath no ſuch woordes: The wordes in deede that he hath there quoted, are Saint *Lukes*. Who, I take it, was the penner of the ſtorie of th'actes and not Saint *Paule*. Secondlie, to omitte the ſlippe of *Beronice* (who dwelles ſure either in *Rome* or in *Portugale*, for in *Ieruſalem* or in the Scripture there is none ſuch to be founde I beleeue) where he ſayeth the wordes are vſed by Saint Paule *in condemnation of the vanitie of Agrippa*, by his fauour and vnder correction we denie that, that, we ſay, is but his owne comment and conceite, neither are the woordes, as we thinke, vſed to anie ſuch end as he ſuppoſeth, to wit, to reprooue and reproche the king with, but onely as a bare and plaine declaration and laying open of the trueth of that Roiall pompe and magnificence, whiche is both vſuall and allowable in great Princes and States in their ſolemne aſſemblies. And that this is true, (if poore Maiſter *Beza*, *Iunius*, *Villerius*, *Camerarius*, and ſuch as they be, were not of late by ſtraunge miſhappe flatlie excommunicated by Maiſter *Sutcliffe* for their ignorance and want of iudgement) I could eaſilie put him out of doubt. For Maiſter *Bezaes* woordes vpon the place be theſe: *Hic quidem certum eſt hoc nomine declarari ſpecioſum regiæ magnificentiæ ſplendorem in ſpectantium oculos incurrentem*, &c. that is to ſay, *Heere it is manifeſt, that in this worde* phantaſias *is layed open vnto vs the beautifull glittering and glorious excellencie of that Royall Magnificence, that doeth flaſhe, as it were, into the eies of the beholders*, &c. Further in the marginall note vpon *Tremelius*, publiſhed, as I thinke, by allowance of the ſtate, this worde *phantaſias* is thus interpreted, *id eſt Regio apparatu*, that is, *in Princely preparation and furniture*

nisure, which can in no sort be taken in ill sense. All which Maister *Beza* seemes to fortifie and confirme by th'authoritie and testimonie of sundrie auncient and learned Greeke writters, as namelie, *Aristotel, Hippocrates, Posidonius.* And if this be so, Madame, then iudge you, I pray you, who was more to blame he which simplie and barelie laies downe the wordes of the storie (which the verie best interpreters doe take in good sense) or hee that thus vnconscionablie wreasteth and wringeth them to make a man so well deseruing of Gods Church, seeme thrice odious and hatefull to the State.

All which considered, it seemes more then straunge to me, that *Sutcliffe* should be so egle-eied a censurer of other mens labours, and in the meane season, eitheir thorough th'inflamation of the stomacke, or through the heate and vnrulinesse of his affections, lay him selfe open to so manie and palpaple advantages as he doeth. I confesse my selfe to be no match for him, neither haue I anie purpose to buckle with him that way, being as he is, a great deale to hotte and to harde for me, and it may be, much better armed to mainteine an error, then such a one as I to defende a trueth. But yet as a stander-by and not as one that hath anie skill to handle the weapon my selfe, me thinkes I could easelie spie a farre of, where he might be caught and crossebiten, if anie man of abilitie and iudgement would vouchsafe to take him in hande. For proofe whereof in the verie first leafe of that invectiue preface of his to my L. Anderson, where he so strayneth and striueth to make Maister *Fenners* and Maister *Cartwrightes* diuinite no better then herisie, You may easilie discerne (if you please Madame) howe the maister countroller of others, hath manifestlie broached vs, a piece of straunge and new-founde diuinitie him selfe. *All religions* (sayeth hee) *teache that the Sonne is borne of the Father, which is the Characteristicall difference of that person.* Can

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you tell what to make of this, Madame? If you can not, no more, I beleeue, can hee that coined it. I confesse I haue read in my dayes (and it is a parte of my faith ſtill) *That the Sonne was begotten of the Father before all worldes*: But *borne of the Father* (as we in our Engliſhe tongue vnderſtande it) I doe not beleeue is to be founde in anie creede in the world, but onelie in this newe *Sutclivian Creede* of ours. Further, I can not but muze that he being a ſcholler, as hee is, would euer ſuffer *Difference of the Perſon* to paſſe the print, without ſome revocation, razure, or correction, ſeeinge it was neuer heard of, I trowe, before nowe that in the Godhead, there ſhould be anie *difference* of the perſons at all, but onelie a *diſtinction*. Sure if one of theſe Puritanes had written thus, we ſhould haue had olde adoo, I beleeue. As to that other newe refined and farre fette phraſe of his of *Characteriſticall*, being ſo pregnant and proper for the place where it is ſette, becauſe I ſee neither diuinitie nor ſenſe in it, nor am able to diſcerne why it ſhould come in ruſteling heere, vnleſſe it be onely for the bare noiſe and ſounde of it, I willinglie leaue it to thoſe that be of a deeper reache then my ſelfe to make ſomewhat of it. But one of the ſpeciall thinges that I would wiſhe your La. and all others to note in Maiſter Sutcliffe is this, that among the writers of our age, you ſhall not lightlie finde a more bolde, peremptorie and reſolute man in the worlde then hee. For proofe whereof, marke I pray you, howe of one of the worthieſt and moſt accompliſhed diuines of our age, and of that conference that for th'excellencie of the woorke, is thought by the learned to be vnmatchable, (as if his worde, or a caſt of his countenance were ſufficient to change the face of the heauens, and to turne light into darkeneſſe) he giueth this ſlight and braſen cenſure, to witte, *That it was long forſooth and without effecte*. What muſt ſuch men as I looke for at his

handes,

handes, when ſuch workes as that is and ſuch men as Maiſter *Reynolde* is, are of no greater accompt and eſtimation in his eyes? But I doo not thinke Madame, that there is anie man in the worlde (if he be not ſmitten with the giddineſſe of the braine) that is of his iudgment concerning that Conference. Neither doo I ſee for mine owne part (if the matters therein handeled with the circumſtances be aduiſedlie looked into) howe he could poſſiblie haue bin ſhorter, but he muſt withall haue bene much darker and intricat. As to the litle *effecte* he ſpeakes of, Ma. *Sutcliffe* muſt pardon me, I will neuer beleue, that all that euer he hath written or can write while he liues, will euer worke the like effecte in the hartes of men for the confutation of poperie, & the confirmation of the Princes true and lawfull Supremacie, as that one worke alone hath done. But, alas, Madame, howe ſhall we doe nowe? Maiſter *Sutcliffe* thinkes not ſo, and where be we then? For what ſo euer he auoucheth true or falſe, right or wrong, blacke or white, It is bound ſtraight (if you marke it) with *All Antiquitie*, *All the Fathers*, *All Diuinitie*: If he ſay it once, there muſt bee no ſtraggering at it, we muſt receyue it foorthwith as an oracle from his mouth, be it neuer ſo ſottiſh: As your Honor may plainlie ſee by this newe Characteriſtieall ſentence of his, to witte, *That the Sonne was borne of the Father: Which is* (ſayeth he) *the Characteriſticall difference of that perſon*. What can be more abſurd and ſenſeles then this? And yet bearing countenanced and guidoned as it is, with Maiſter *Sutcliffes* coulers, that is, with *All Religion ſaieth it*, *All Religion ſaith it*, It muſt, you ſee, marche on without an encounter, or els there will be no hoe with him.

And yet for his owne ſake I would this were the worſt thing in him, then ſhould neuer, I trowe, ſo many innocent and guiltleſſe haue bene thus vily and iniuriouſlie bee beſprinkled with the gall and vineger of his penne, as haue

bene of late to the triumph and reioycing of th'aduerſarie, and to the griefe of thoſe that loue the trueth. And furelie, Madame, when I lay before me this deadly ſting and bloudi-minded drift of Maiſter *Sutcliffes* (for I can call it no better) in that he would ſo faine haue Maiſter *Cart.* and Maiſter *Egerton*, with ſo manie woorthie men, to be traitours & conſpiratours with *Hacket*, and Maiſter *Vdall* (for the pure loue he beares him) honored with the gibbet, I could, me thinkes, in their regard (if I had anie acquaintance with him) finde in my harte to befriende him a little with my poore aduiſe, if I thought hee would take it well at my handes, to witte, *That ſeeing the Reuenger of th'innocent and afflicted is mightie*, and able, as he knowes, to grinde their oppreſſors and backbitors into pouder, he would (for all this huffing and heate of diſtemperature) at length yet bethinke him ſelfe, and beware howe he goes on anie further in his vnchriſtianlike veine of bytinge and bitterneſſe, eſpeciallie againſt ſuch men whom their greateſt aduerſaries (if they haue not quite abandoned all modeſtie and ſhamefaſtneſſe) doe yet ſometimes reuerentlie accoumpt of: as may appeare by the late politicke treatiſe of Mai. *Hookers*, who (though hee bee aſmuch diſtaſted with the *Diſcipline*, and, for anie thing I ſee, as ſtronglie bewitched, and euerie way as deepelie intereſſed in the caſe of the *Hierarchie*, as Maiſter *Sute.*) doeth yet in wordes at leaſt (and I hope from his hearte) vouchſafe to honor them and bebleſſe them with manie reuerent and brotherlie tearmes, as *Right well affected, and moſt religiouſlie inclined mindes*, and ſuch like: And yet me thinkes, to ſpeake indifferentlie, they ſhould not bee verie well affected neither if they ſhould be as Maiſter *Sutcliffe* would haue them, that is, guiltie of anie practiſe or conſpiracie againſt her Maieſtie. Whereupon, if I might, I would gladlie knowe for my learning, what point of Coſmographie Maiſter *Sutcliffe* holdes this to bee, namelie, to preſſe

men

men so egerly (as he doeth) to the defence of the cause, asking them whether they be quite spent, and haue nothing to say, but must be faine (poore men) to sende ouer to *Geneua* for helpe, and in the meane season by the verdure and venime of his penne, to drawe, as it were, a kinde of endightment of treason and conspiracie against them, and so to put them to the iumpe and defence of their liues. A good round readie way to silence and refute men, I trowe: As if it were wisedome or godlie policie for a State to suffer traitours and conspiratours either to write bookes, or defend anie thing by disputation: Yet me thinkes, it were much fairer play and an euener course, a great deale, to cleare them of treason firste, and then to tender them the chalendge and disputation afterwardes, then thus to throw out the gauntlet and charrell of defiance with one hande, and to shake the halter and shewe the hatchet with th'other, or rather in plaine tearmes to doo what in him lieth to cut in sunder their windpipe first, and then to aske them why they whoppe not or lewre not afterward.

For this cause if I thought there were anie man to be founde in this age, so sober and well qualified, that might heerein be a director to a man of Maister *Sutcliffes* constitution, I would then entreate him, that when hee writes againe, he would make either Maister *Hooker*, or some one discreete man of his owne side, his glasse and diall or direction, for the better temperature of his penne, beinge enough and enough, euen in conscience (if not more then enough) that he hath thus runne him selfe out of breath allreadie: and vnlesse hee should burne a newe the temple of *Diana*, I doe not see howe hee can make him selfe more famous then he hath done by this newe emblasure of his. In which regard it is sure to somebody, I trowe, that Maister *Hooker* writes, whē he so solemnely adviseth & admonisheth men, *To lay aside the gall of that bitternesse wherein their mindes*

haue

Iust hinderes ouerabounded, and with meekenesse) to seeke the trueth,
yea. Yea and it seemeth by the whole course of his booke, that there is no man in the worlde (if we may beleeue him) more out of loue with an envenomed penne, which is the disease of the poison of the heart, then he. And therefore if in this good counsell of his, he did not speciallie and particularlie, and as it were, by name leuell at his brother *Sutcliffe* aboue others, I must needes say hee was to harde and partially bounde about theies. For though for mine owne part I be sufficientlie perswaded, and my heart thoroughlie settled in the trueth of the cause, notwithstanding a whole librarie of bookes should be written against it (and the more that is written in that kinde, and the more disgraces that are thus maliciouslie disgorged out against the defendours thereof, the more I am confirmed) yet dare I passe this promise to Maister *Hooker*, or to any man liuing of his complexion, that if among all those that haue hitherto sued for reformation, he can picke me out but one that is comparable to Maister *Sutcliffe*, in that sea of bitternesse, and ouerflowing of the gall he speakes of, I will forth with yeeld him the bucklers, and passe him my recantation vnder seale. So that he shall be sure to say that which I beleeue Maister *Sutcliffe* will neuer be able to say, to witte, that hee hath wonne one *Disciplinarian* to the faith of the *Hierarchie*. All which considered, I could wish that Maister *Sutcliffe* would something recall him selfe while he hath time and space, and in remorse of that which is past, strike his hande vpon his breast, to some blushinge and repentance (if it might be) before the day of his visitation, remembring that one of the speciall things that the holy ghost marketh out as abhorred of the Lorde, is, *A proude heart, a lying tongue, and handes that are swifte to sheade innocent bloud.*

I come

I come now againe to Maister *Copinger*, who after hee had thus written vnto me, and I had thus answered him as before is set downe, found meanes to steale vpon me once more at my lodging, pressing me very earnestlie to be acquainted with that man (meaning *Hacket*) whom he had before so highlie commended vnto me, redoublinge his speaches, loading me with a newe supplie of his prayses, especiallie of his gift in prayer beyond all that euer he heard. He tolde me that he was nowe in the towne, and that hee would bring me to him if I would, his lodginge was not farre from Smithfield: I tolde him I was so troubled, and in a maner oppressed with busines, that I could not be at anie leisure, neither could I appoint him anie time, as he would faine haue had me. Well yet (sayeth he) doe me that fauour as but heare him pray once before you go out of the town. I can not certenlie promise you that neither (saied I) but if I be at anie leisure, and may conuenientlie, I will, and so we parted.

But heere by the way, I had like to haue forgotten that which of all others is most woorthie the remembraunce, namely, his discourse of the first greeting and meeting betwixt him & this newe Sainct of his, which, to my remembrance was thus: *That he hearing of th'vnfaigned conuersion of the man, with the simplicitie of his heart, and the rare gifts that God had lent him, being a man vnlearned, did write him a letter to come vp.* Which *Hacket* accomplished accordinglie. As soone as they mette, after some salutations, *Copinger* signified vnto him what reuelations he had had of late, howe the Lord had sundrie times appeared vnto him from heauen, but he could gette no man hereabouts to beleeue him, that there was anie such thing in troth, but that all was a meere illusion of Sathan. *No* (sayeth *Hacket*) *will they not beleeue it? But I will beleeue it, and will prooue it to them, for I my selfe haue had reuelations, and strange reuelations too.* Whereupon I re-

member Maister *Copinger* glaunced a little at Maister *Egerton* and Maister *Carr*. that they would by no meanes be perswaded of the trueth of these thinges, whereas this simple man did at the firste both conceiue of it, giue credite to it, and was readie by his owne experience to iustifie it. And this verifies (sayeth he) that which I tolde you before, that the Lord will not haue this worke brought to passe by anie other then by the simplest and weakest. And then he tolde me howe that vpon these speaches of *Hacket*, he burning in desire to knowe what those revelations of his were, presſed him verie earnestlie to tell him. But *Hacket*, seeing him so sharpe set, to giue him, as it were, the keener edge, and the greater longing, did purposelie (as it should seeme) keepe him fasting, and helde of telling him, that there was a time for all things, he had not nowe long to staye in the towne, but he should knowe more shortlie, for the present let this suffise him, *That there were manie strange practises and wonderfull treasons a brewing against the Queene.*

Heerevpon it was that *Copinger*, after *Hacket* was gone downe into the Countrie, wrote those same letters that I before mentioned, to witte, vnto her Maiestie, the Countesse of *Warwicke*, and my L. Treasurer, from whom hauing receyued that answere that I haue heere set downe, namelie, *That he should bring with him some grounded matter to worke vpon*, he writes me againe in all post haste to his newe prophet, willing him to come vp, with all possible speede, for he had broken the yce, forsooth, nowe was the time or neuer. Wherevpon *Haket* came vp, and was by his meanes (as he tolde me) brought before my Lo. Treasurer. In whose presence he so behaued him selfe, falling flatte on his face, groueling, groaning, and foming at the mouth, that my L. seeing him, should say: *What hath Copinger brought me, a mad man here?* My Lord (saied he) thought he had bin madde, whereas he, no doubt, was inwardlie rauished in soule, and

rapt vp into the third heauen as *Paul* was: whereat ſmiling with my ſelfe, I aſked him what became in the meane ſeaſon of all thoſe great treaſons and practiſes that were thus extraordinarilie reuealed vnto *Hacket*, and he vpon *Hackets* worde, had thus ventured to make knowne to thoſe great perſonages. I looked (ſaied I) that vpon this appearaunce before my Lo. Treaſurer, we ſhould haue heard newes of them. He tolde me, that if they could haue obteyned that they hoped for, namelie a warrant & commiſſion to ſearch and bolt out the trueth of thinges, we ſhould haue hearde more ere this, being perſwaded in his ſoule, that it would haue fallen out, to haue bene one of the beſt ſeruices that euer was vndertaken for the Lande. Wherevpon when I told him that it ſeemed ſtrange vnto me, that a man ſhould take in hande to waken th'eares of great Counſellours with I knowe not what noiſe of complottes & conſpiracies firſt, and then to ſue for a commiſſion to enquire afterwardes: He choked me ſtraight with his old cõmon place of *Extraordinarie, Extraordinarie*, telling me that we were not to draw preſidents of thoſe things wherof there was no rule: whervnto I replied, that though their ſuppoſed reuelations were (as they ſaied) *Extraordinary*, yet the cõmiſſion to enquire, that they would ſo faine haue had, was *Ordinarie*: and therfore I muſed that ſuch extraordinarie men as they, would flie to ſuch common and ordinarie helpes. Well (ſaieth he) it may be you ſhall heare more when the time comes. And ſo he departed.

After this, hauing bene to ſeeke Maiſter D. *Chippingdale*, *Copinger* meetes me by chaunce in Pawles Chaine, and taking me by the arme, whiſpered me in th'eare, tellinge me that the man he ſpake to me of, was nowe harde by, remoued from his olde lodging into Knightrider ſtreete. I tolde him I had much buſineſſe, he ſayed I ſhould not ſtay, but onely ſee the man, & iudge of his gifte in prayer, if I would,

which he knewe I would admire. Vpon his importunacie (I ſpeake it not Madame, in anie great praiſe of my ſelf, becauſe hauing ſuch warning as I had, I might haue bene better aduiſed) yet thinking it ſtrange that a man, not able to reade, ſhould haue ſuch an extraordinarie gifte as he ſpake of (though vpon the former taſte of Maiſter *Copingers* poore iudgement, I did partlie feare before hande, what I ſhould finde) I went, I confeſſe, with him. And this was the firſt & the laſt time that euer I ſawe *Hacket* in my life. And to ſpeak the trueth, this verie once was enough to diſtaſte anie man of neuer ſo meane iudgement, I beleeue, vnleſſe he were bewitched, becauſe the verie puffing and ſwellinge of his face, the ſtaring and gogling of his eyes, with his gaſtlie countenance, did, me thought, ſufficientlie decipher out vnto me, what was in the man, at the firſt ſight. And heere alſo at this time I founde *Arthington*, whom to my remembrance I neuer ſawe aboue once before in my life. But conference I neuer had anie with him, as hee him ſelfe beſt knowes, who is yet liuing to witneſſe whether I lie or no. When I was come vp to the chamber, *Copinger* tolde *Hacket* that the Gentleman could not ſtay, and therefore deſired him he might be partaker of his prayer. Whereuppon *Hacket* clapping to the dore, fell without anie more adoe, to his prayer, euen (for all the worlde) as a man ſhould haue fallen to his ſworde and buckler.

But if I ſhall not lie vnto you, Madame, ſuch a piece of prayers did no man liuing, I thinke, euer heare. It was much like the wildegoole chaſe, neither heade nor foote, rime nor reaſon. In ſteede of deſiring God to be preſent with vs, he deſired him to be abſent from vs, and ſo, for anie thinge I knowe, he was, vnleſſe it were in his hande of iudgement to puniſhe vs: for concerning anie bleſſing to befall vs, ſure I am, he was not preſent with vs, at that time. Many ſtrange ſtoppes and pawſes he had in his prayers, and that a preatie

while

while togither, saying nothing but onelie groaned & murmured to him selfe, and then he would suddainlie burst out into some passionate outcrie and exclamation against those wicked *Hamans* and Traytours to God and the Queene, for that was a great woord with him. As to his maner and gesture, it was, me thought, full as strange as the prayer it self, speaking sometimes in a kinde of lowe and base voice, and sometimes againe in so high a voice, that I thinke he might easelie haue bene heard into the streetes: yet were the most of his wordes vttered with much earnestnes and fervencie, with puffinges and beatinges in a kinde of snatching manner, as if he had bene halfe vvindlesse, and out of breath. And howsoeuer other men iudge of him, I must confesse I haue liued to see him a kinde of prophet in deede in the right successe and event that his prayer had. For as execrations and imprecations were vsuall with him, so I remember this sweete sentence among the rest, *O Lorde thou knowest, thou hast revealed sundrie thinges to me, which thou hast kept backe from the mightie ones of the worlde, and if this be not true, let thy vengeance and visible confusion fall vpon me.* This I say, I expreslie noted. And hauinge liued to see that I haue done, namely, such a sensible hande of God vpon him, in giuing him ouer to ende his dayes in that most shamefull and desperate manner as he did, with so manie horrible blasphemies without repentance. Who can denie but that *Hacket* was a right reader of destinies, and concerning him selfe a prophet? While he was in his prayer, *Copinger* and *Arthington* did bestowe the most of the time in a straunge kinde of sighing, humming and groaning, & that manie times verie loude. When his prayer was done, which to mee was a great deale to long, vnlesse it had bene more savorie (and to tell you the verie trueth, Madame, I sate, me thought, vpon thornes, and was not quiet in my selfe, till I was out of the chamber, fearing, when I heard him thunder and cutse in

that maner, leaſt the floore ſhould haue fallē on our heads) I tolde them I had haſtie buſines, and ſo tooke my leaue & gladd in my heart that I was gone. I remember *Hackets* laſt wordes to me at my farewell, were theſe, *I ſhould heare more ſhortlie*, and ſo in deede I did: For the next newes I heard, was, that they were vp in a cart in Cheape-ſide, and ſo were apprehended, and their great *Mahomet* brought to that end, as all men knowe, and he beſt deſerued.

Now when I was come my way from hearing this man of the rare gift, Maiſter *Copinger* followed me, and bringing me a little a long the ſtreete, he iogged me on th'elbow, and aſked me in mine eare, what I thought of the mans gifte, & whether he were not an excellent fellowe: I tolde him, I muſed what ſhould moue him to thinke ſo, becauſe I ſawe no order at all in his prayer, but a meere confuſed heape of wordes without ſappe. And then I beganne to enter into ſome particulars with him, as what ſhould be the reaſon, or howe it might be iuſtified, that a man ſhould dare to offer vp his prayers to God without anie acknowledgement of his ſinne and vnworthineſſe, as at that time *Hacket* neuer did, neither in generall nor in particular. Againe, I aſked him what warrant anie man had to vſe anie of thoſe imprecations and bitter curſſinges of him ſelfe in his prayer, whereof there was neither rule nor warrant in the whole Scripture of God. Vnto all which his aunſwere was ſtill one and the ſame, not vnlike to the reſt of his reſolutions: *Oh* (ſayeth he) *you muſt conſider it is extraordinarie, extraordinarie: And I am verely perſwaded, Maiſter Throkmorton, that as Iohn Baptiſt was the fore-runner of our Saviour in the fleaſhe · So this man is the very fore-runner of our Saviour in iudgement.* At which wordes of his, I confeſſe, I was ſomething amazed, and looking vpon him (remembring Maiſter *Cartwrightes* former ſpeaches vnto me) I could not but pitie the man, with this reſolution, neuer to come at him againe, nor anie

of

of his confederates (if I could avoid them) while I liued. And thus parted Maister *Copinger* and I, being the last time that euer I sawe him: who, as farre as I coniecture, returned backe againe at that verie instant to *Hacket*, because I sawe him bende that way.

Not long after this I went to *Enfielde* to visite my cousin *Middlemore*, that then was verie yll, vnto whom I reported at large the trueth of the whole, as I haue heere set downe, and howe at Maister *Copingers* earnest intreatie I heard *Hacket* pray, and of the maner of his prayer, &c. And I remember his wordes, and shall doo while I liue, to witte, *That he feared he would come to some ill ende*, whiche hee gathered by those bitter cursinges and execrations that were so vsuall with him.

Nowe when I came backe againe to London, I founde this short letter at my lodginge, which Ma. *Copinger* wrote vnto me from Knightrider streete, and which Maister *Sutcliffe* (I thanke him) hath taken the paines to print and reprint, to wit, *That much hath bene done since they sawe me, which I would reioyce to heare of; That they desire conference with mee; That the businesse is the Lords owne; That some of the enemies of God begunne to be hotely pursued by Sathan, &c.* For so was it in my letter, though in their printed copie it be *pursued by God, &c.* That I receyued such a letter I denie not, but you must vnderstande, Madame, that they had bene preaching in the cart, and were apprehended before this letter came to my handes. But what could I doo withall, if Maister *Copinger* did write thus vnto me? It is knowne he did write letters to other maner of men then I. I confesse, hee did wonderfullie seeke me, and labour to haue drawne me to the bent of his bowe. And albeit I may truely say that his vnsensible perswasions had neuer anie taste or relish in my breast, neither did I euer feele so much as anie inclination to bee drawne away by him, yet doo I not, nor dare I not attribute

bute the least parte of this resistance to mine own strength, because the Lorde might iustlie haue giuen me ouer to a weaker assault then this, if it had pleased him. But what will Maister *Sutcliffe* make of this? *Copinger* wrote vnto me twice or thrice. True, I denie it not, and good leaue haue he to make his advantage of it, let him hardlie presse it and straine it to th'vttermost, it shall not offende me. What then? Why then, forsooth he concludeth, that *Throk.* is not onelie an accessarie and a concealer of their treacherous practises, but also a principall actor in the Pagent, and deepely guiltie of the conspiracie.

This haulting consequent I leaue to be refuted by Maister *Sutcliffe* him selfe, when he is sober and not all out so distempered as it may be he was when he wrote the booke. He knowes well enough it were great pitie that all they that wrote and receyued letters from *Copinger*, or had anie conference with him, or anie view of *Hacket*, should forthwith be reputed traitors and conspirators for that. For the rest I would Maister *Sutcliffe* knewe, that I holde it not onelie lawfull but euen my bounden dutie to reueale anie practise or treason intended against my Soueraine, and that of conscience, if there were no lawe to binde me too it but the lawe of God. Of which sinne, I hope, I may without offence pleade guiltlesse, not onelie before men, but (for anie thing I knowe) before the tribunall seate of Christ.

And if probable collections bee in th'eies of indifferent Iudges of as great force for a mans clearing and defence as they are for a mans guiltinesse and condemnation; then mine innocencie, I hope (though it bee neuer so much shotte at by the dartes of envenomed mouthes) shall yet by Gods assistance, escape vntouched and vnblemished in the ende.

If anie

If anie man ſhould demaunde (ſayeth Arthington) *why I did not diſcouer Hackets intended villainous practiſes againſt the Queene and the State, ſeeing hee was knowne to bee a ſorcerer, and condemned for high treaſon againſt her Maieſtie truelie, as I meane to be ſaued at the laſt day, both theſe matters were vnknowne to me ſo long as he liued, and to Maiſter Copinger too, as I thinke. Neither was I euer any farther acquainted with anie viſions or ſpeeches touching theſe matters, then as before in ſubſtance is declared, &c. Therefore as on the one ſide, I ſhould deepely offende the Maieſtie of God, if I ſhould conceale any daunger intended againſt her Maieſtie (falling within the compaſſe of my knowledge:) So ſhould I diſpleaſe the Lorde on the other ſide, by ſpeaking more then a trueth of anie: yea were it of the Deuill himſelfe, proteſting thus much in the preſence of God, that if I were privie to one evill woorde ſpoken againſt her Maieſtie, &c.* Arth. Reduct. and repent. pag. 21.

This booke of *Arthingtons*, Madame, hath, wee ſee, th'alowance and approbation of the State: And if hee that was one of the three, naming him ſelfe the prophet of iudgement, ſo manie times converſant with *Hacket*, aſwell in prayer as in conference, be thus publikelie cleared by his proteſtation, and that taken and accepted of for payement, It goeth harde, me thinkes, that another man, that neuer ſaw *Hacket* but once in his life, that wrote and laboured to Maiſter *Copinger* to deſiſt, as one altogither diſtaſted with his courſes, ſhould not haue the ſame libertie to pawne his proteſtation for his defence.

If then Maiſter *Sutcliffe*, or anie of his humour doo aſke of *Iob Throk.* why he did not reueale the treaſons & practiſes of *Hacket* and his accomplices, he aunſwereth in a worde (and that with proteſtation before the Lorde of heauen and earth) *Becauſe he knewe not of anie, neither euer heard ſo much as the leaſt noyſe or ſounde of anie.* And that Maiſter *Sutcliffe* him ſelfe (for anie thing he knowes) was full as guiltie, and euerie way as acceſſarie to thoſe con-

ſpiracies as he.

If it be demanded further, why he did not reueale ſo much as he knew, namelie of their prayers, imprecations, and ſuppoſed reuelations? He anſwereth, that the ſame reaſon that moued that honorable Counteſſe to deteine ſtill in her handes Mai. *Copingers* letter vnto her Maieſtie, without deliuerie, namelie, that there was no grounde of his information, but only his phanſie, moued alſo *Throk.* not to make the Magiſtrate acquainted with anie of thoſe toyes and fooleries, without ſome better grounde: thinking them altogither vnworthie of their preſence & eares, and fearing (vnleſſe he would haue foreſeene into th'event aforehande) that he had bene liker a great deale (for troubling their Honors with ſuch a headleſſe information) to haue bin rather returned home againe as wiſe as he came, with ſome checke or reproche for his follie, then with anie thanke or rewarde for his paines.

Touching *Marten*, whatſoeuer it pleaſeth Ma. *Sutcliffe* to ſay, I hope thoſe that are in Authoritie, & Ma. *Sutcliffes* betters, are ſufficientlie perſwaded of mine innocencie that way. And ſeeing the gentleman hath giuen him ſelfe a commiſſion to ſpeake his pleaſure of my betters, there is good reaſon that ſo meane a man as I ſhould allow him a litle to ſpeake *per Hyperbolen, or licentiâ poetica*, as he doeth of Maiſter *Cart.* when he chargeth him with th'execution of his brother *Stubbes* his (a) will, a thing that I haue heard him ſay he neuer dealt in in anie ſorte, in all his life. And I doo the rather beleeue it, in that in one of his bookes he bringeth teſtimonie (as I remember) out of one of th'auncient Fathers, that it is either vnmete or vnlawfull for a Miniſter of the worde, to be ſo much as an Executor, much leſſe that he ſhould be encombred with anie ciuill office. And ſuch another like tale is that of the ſale of his coraige, and the purchaſe of his three or foure

(a) He is not ſo much as once named in his will.

manours: which is ſo apparant a ſlaunder, as I doubt not but he may be convinced by hundreds that are yet aliue, and I thinke fewe of his owne ſide ſo immodeſt to beleeue it. As for my ſelfe and his charge of *Martiniſme*, if Maiſter *Sutcliffe* were the man that had neuer tolde vntrueth in his life, I could eaſilie in this caſe (if need were) make ſome advantage of him for my clearing & defence. For though in one of his *Queres* pag. 202. he lay all vppon me, I thanke him, *Theſes, Proteſtations, Dialogues*, & all (and ſo to ſpeake the trueth, he may aſwell all as one) yet in his better moode, when, it may be, hee had ſlept better all night, he franklie cleareth me againe, diſburdeninge me of that charge, and letteth not to ſay, pag. 78. that the noble *Martin* was *Iohn Penry, Iohn Vdall, Iohn Field*, all *Iohns*, ſayeth he, as for me he doeth but bring me in at the later ende as a candle holder: and no more in deede I am not, in regard of ſome of thoſe Reuerend men.

But becauſe, Madame, I am to render accompt of my dooings before other manner of men then Maiſter *Sutcliffe*. Seeing an oth (as th'Apoſtle ſayeth) ought to bee th'ende of all ſtrife, I will for my finall clearing heerein (when ſo euer it ſhall be thought ſo good by the State) willinglie take this oth, as I haue heeretofore offered, to witte, *That I am not Martin, I knewe not Martin, And concerning that I ſtande endighted of, I am as cleare as the childe vnborne.*

For the reſt, that I liue vnder a moſt gratious Princeſſe and a mercifull gouernement, I were greatlie to blame, if I would not in all humbleneſſe acknowledge: and if I haue not bene thankfull to God for it, my ſinne ſure hath bene the greater. But what Prince and gouernement liueth Maiſter Sutcliffe vnder, trowe you? If it be the ſame that I liue vnder (and I hope howe farre ſo euer hee hath traueled, he hath none other) then, if I be not deceiued,

(vnleſſe hee haue ſome charter of priuiledge that I knowe not of) his band & recognoiſance is full as great as mine, and he as deepely engaged this way as my ſelfe. And if it be true that a reuerend Iudge in this lande did once tell my Lo. Chancelour, that dead is, *That the matter of th'indightment that paſſed againſt Throk. at Warwicke, was in trueth but a friuelous matter, and a thing that hee would eaſelie auoied.* And if it be alſo true that the ſaied Lorde Chauncelour (who, if I be not deceiued, was able to ſee as farre into a man as Maiſter *Sutcliffe*) did ſaye not onelie priuately in his houſe, but euen to her Maieſtie (who cauſed the ſame to bee ſignified vnto me, that I might therein be thankfull vnto my Lorde) and more then that, if the ſaied Lo. Chauncelour did openlie in Parleament (whereof there are yet liuing witneſſes enow) pronoũce, that *he knewe the ſaied Iob Throkmorton to be an honeſt man:* If all theſe, I ſay, be true, I thinke I may ſafelie conclude in defence of my ſelfe againſt Maiſter *Sutcliffe*, the *Pretended Conſpiracie*, and all others, that this ſparinge courſe that hath bene hitherto helde with me, hath rather (to ſpeake the trueth) bene a courſe of Iuſtice, thẽ a courſe of mercie, And that if all things be rightly conſidered, it is a farre greater mercie & patience to ſuſter Ma. *Sutcliffe* and ſuch as he is, thus ſhamefully to traduce whole Churches and to ſett his colebrand of infamie vpon the moſt reuerend men that euer wrote, then to ſuffer *Iob Throkmorton*, to goe in peace. Who ſo long as he hath his owne innocencie and vnguiltineſſe for his clearinge, maketh no doubt (notwithſtanding all this racking, wreaſting and libelling againſt him) but he ſhal haue alwayes the lawes of God and her Maieſtie for his ſufficient ſhelter and defence.

Thus Madame haue I endeuoured my ſelfe in that meaſure I could, to ſatisfie your earneſt requeſt, wherin

what

what other defectes ſo euer there bee, I would bee loth, there ſhould be founde anie vntrueth: if your Honor thinke good to make it knowne abroade to others, I am not againſt it: Seeing my defacing hath bene publike, I hope no man will blame me, if I deſire that my clearing might alſo be publicke. The blotte and bleamiſh of my good name, hath bene, as you ſee, publiklie ſpread and proclaimed, as it were, ouer the whole lande, and my ſelfe no leſſe wounded then in capite, that is in my allegeance to my Prince, and I by this their wreaſting, curtayling, and implying, made little better then a traytor and conſpiratour in th'eies of the worlde. A thing that, if I remember my ſelfe well, ought, no doubt, to humble me and pull me downe (if it were poſſible) to the verie centre of th'earth. In which regarde when I looke backe to the ſinnes of my former life, I muſt needes acknowledge it to be iuſt with God, howe ſo euer it bee vnrighteous with men. I knowe right well, Madame, what the Prophet Dauid did in like caſe, who when he was reviled and railed vppon by *Shimei*, did neither frette at this nor at that, as commonlie men doo, nor yet looke vppon the perſon or vileneſſe of the man, with any frowning aſpect or revengefull countenance, but on the contrarie did foorthwith caſt his eies vp to heauen, acknowledging it to be the hande of the great God, and to be his dooing: *He curſeth, ſayeth he, euen becauſe the Lorde hath bidden him curſe Dauid, &c.* I confeſſe, Madame, I ought to be thus affected too, if I were as I ſhould be: But fallinge ſhort of this, my onelie deſire (if it might be) for all the malice I beare to Maiſter *Sutcliffe* is this, that in this caſe I might be credited, and he not. And I thinke, Madame, I haue reaſon to deſire it. In deede if I came to appeach or accuſe, there were ſome reaſon for a perſon of your place to make a pawſe, and not to be ouerſwift in lendinge an

care

eare vnto me. But comming as I doo, in defence of th'innocent, & to saue the guiltlesse from obloquie & sclaunder, me thinks I may by all lawes Heathen and Christian (and that without offence) chalenge as it were a day of favourable hearing & credence before mine adversarie.

I remember the fellons and malefactours standing at the barre, one of the last thinges that the Iudge doeth aske of them before he procede to sentence is this: *What hast thou to say for thy selfe, why thou mayest not haue iudgement, &c.* I could wishe Madame, and my humble sute vnto your Honor, and to all others that shall reade these printed accusations against me, is, that ye would in this case playe still th'vpright Iudges with me, and afoord me but that fauour, which is not denied, you see, to verie thieves and felons at the barre, namelie, that yee would not passe anie resolute sentence of credite or condemnation against me, before you haue made enquirie, What *Throkmorton can saye for him selfe, why he may not bee reputed a Traytour and Conspiratour as well as Hacket.* And if I may be but thus charitably dealt with, that is, if none of these slaunders may make anie impression against me in the breastes and conceites of men, before I bee duelie and patientlie heard what I can say for my selfe, assure your selfe, Madame, I will neuer craue a Psalme of *Miserere* for my deliuerance while I liue. But rather, if I bee asked what I haue to say for my selfe, I will by Gods grace, saye, euen as I haue sayed, and is heere alreadie layed downe to your La. in all plainenesse, and trueth, which I hope is sufficient to cleare me in the face of anie righteous Iudge vnder heauen.

Th'issue therefore of the whole is this, that when things haue bene neuer so much wrenched and writhed, yea and as it were strangelie tenter stretched against me, to bring me not onely in disgrace, but in question of my life,

life: Yet if euer it bee prooued, Madame, by anie acte, witnesse, or recorde vnder the sunne, that *Throk.* was anie wayes accessarie, weeting, privie or consenting to anie of those vile practises of *Hacket*, and his accomplices: Nay more, not onelie in this, but in any other action, attempte or consultation whatsoeuer, if, I say, it may be prooued that euer he had anie hande in anie vngodlie practise against his dreade Souueraigne, from the beginning of the worlde to this daye, he craueth none other fauour, then to be made a publicke spectacle, and a notable example of iustice to all posteritie. Nay hee sayeth further in his owne clearing and defence, that if his verie harte were arraigned in the presence of God and men, he may safelie protest, that he is so farre from being guiltie of that wherewith he is thus wrongfullie and iniuriouslie slaundered, that he is not privie to him self of so much as anie felonious or deloiall thought of her Maiestie. If he be, let him not die the death of the righteous.

F. Throkmorton.